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## GERMANIC ETYMOLOGIES.

*Wortschatz der germanischen Spracheinheit* unter Mitwirkung von HJALMAR FALK gänzlich umgearbeitet von ALF TORP (*Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen* von AUG. FICK. 4. Aufl., III. Teil). Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1909.

Every one interested in IE. filology in general and in Germ. filology in particular will hail this book with delight. The authors, who are well known for their *Etymologisk Ordbog over det norske og det danske sprog*, a book that has just suffered a translation into German, are in every way equipt for the task. Unfortunately, however, they give but very few references, and those not always the correct ones. It is hoped that the following notes will supply some slight deficiencies and add to the value of the book.

Passing over in silence a considerable number of omissions in the book, I give here only those words whose explanation is mine, or at least corresponds to mine, or which I explain differently. Much might have been added on this point especially in the definitions given.

Some objection might be made to the manner of writing the Germ. forms. E. g. why inf. *keusan*, but pp. *kuzana*, since both have the suf. -ono-? And why such forms as *kremp*, *sprent*? For it is certain that IE. *e* before a nasal combination became *i* in Germ. time. Otherwise IE. -*énk-* would not have become -*ih-*.

2. To *aiviskia* add OE. *æwis-firina* 'notorious sinner,' *æwan* (\**aivjan*) 'contemn, scorn' (*MLN.* xvi, 309). Strike out LG. (nnd.) *eisk*, *aisch* 'fürchterlich, etc.': MLG. *eisk*, *eislik* 'schrecklich; hässlich,' *eisen* 'grauen, schaudern,' OHG. *egisōn*, *agisōn* 'erschrecken,' *egistih*, *ekistih*, MHG. *egeslich*, *eislich* 'schrecklich,' Goth. *agis* 'Furcht,' etc.

3. If *idala* in OE. *idel* 'empty, desolate, destitute, useless, vain, idle,' etc., is related to Gk. *ἰθαπός* 'rein, heiter,' then it seems to me that 'pure, clear' came from 'free from, empty' rather than the reverse.

*aibra* 'bitter, heftig': early NHG. *yfer* 'Eifer-

sucht' (Weigand<sup>s</sup> s. v. *Eifer*): Gk. *ἴπρος* 'trap, press, burden,' *ἴπρομαι* 'press hard, afflict, distress.'

7. Under *ak* 2, the combination OE. *acan* 'ake': Skt. *āgas* 'Schuld, Sünde,' Gk. *ἀγος* 'guilt' should be credited to me (cf. *AJP.* 27, 59). To these I also added Lat. *eges-tas*, *eege*.

10. *adela*, *adelan* may rather be combined with Gk. *ἄσος* 'slime,' *ἄσος* 'slimy' (*Pub. MLA.* xiv, 316).

16. From *am* 'drängen' strike out *amita* 'beständig,' OHG. *emiz*. The word is properly speld with -*mm-*: *emmiz*, *emmizig*. These I derive from \**amwiz(ig)*, \**an(t)-wiz(ig)*, translating *ἐπιούσιος*, with assimilation of *nw-* to -*mw-*, -*mm-*, and then simplification to -*m-*, as in \**fram-wert*, *frammert*, *fram(m)ort*. Compare especially *prooth unseer emezihic* (St. Galler Paternoster), *pilipi unseraz emizzigaz* (Freis. Paternoster), *broot unseraz emet-zigaz* (Weiss. Cat.) 'panem nostrum cotidianum' with *pröt unseraz taga-wizzi* 'panem nostrum cotidie' (Ambr. Hymn). The \**wiz(ig)* in *em(m)iz(ig)* and the *-wizzi* in *taga-wizzi* are from the verb OHG. *ar-wizzan* 'weggehen,' OS. *gi-witan* 'gehen,' etc. Hence *emiz(ig)* ment primarily 'coming again, recurring,' and then 'perpetual, continuous, diligent,' just as *tagawizzi* ment 'coming daily' (cf. *Americana Germ.* III, 309 f.).

23. With Germ. *ē-* (p. 23), *ō* (28) compare Lat. prep. *ē*, prefix *ē-* 'ex,' Gk. *ὤ-* in *ὤ-χρός* 'pale, sallow,' *ὤ-χρωμα* 'paleness' (: *χρῶμα* 'skin, color,' compare OE. *æ-hīw* 'paleness': *hīw* 'color'), *ὤ-ρῡγή* 'howl': Lat. *ē-rūgo* 'belch forth,' etc. (cf. *Color-Names*,<sup>1</sup> 102).

36. Insted of *kōnia* 'der etwas kennt (und kann)' I should write *kōnu* 'sharp, keen' (OHG. *kuono*, *kuon-heit*, *kuon-rāt*, MHG. *kuone-zorn*, *kuon-rīch*), and compare Gk. *γωνία* 'corner, angle,' Skt. *jānu* 'knee,' etc. (*MLN.* xxii, 235 f.).

39. With *karska* 'munter, frisch' compare also Skt. *gard-* 'frohlocken,' *gārdā* 'geil,' *gṛtsa-s* 'rasch, geschickt, gewandt, klug,' and Icel. *kræfur* 'strong,' OHG. *kraft*, etc. (*MLN.* xx, 43).

<sup>1</sup> Color-Names and their Congeners. A Semasiological Investigation by Francis A. Wood. Halle, 1902.

42. *ki* 'keimen' ('spring apart, burst') and *ki* 'spalten, seitwärts ausweichen' may be combined under an IE. root *ǵei-* 'move suddenly, quickly, jerk; spring, spring apart': Bal. *zīnay* 'an sich reißen, hastig ergreifen,' Skt. *jīnāti* 'raubt, bedrückt,' etc. (cf. *Color-Names*, 53 f.).

45. To *ku*, *kaujan* 'rufen' add MHG. *kūtz* 'Kauz,' OE. *cȳta* 'Rohrdommel; Weihe,' NE. *kite*, Lith. *gaudžiti*, *gausti* 'in langgezogenen Tönen heulen, wehklagen,' Lett. *gaudīt* 'heulen, wehklagen' (*PBB.* xxiv, 529).

*kūmia* 'schwach, elend' does not belong to the above, but to *ku* 'sich wölben' (better 'sich biegen'). See *PBB.* xxiv, 530, where also I give *kauern*: Gk. *γῦρός* 'rund, gekrümmt, gebückt,' and *MLN.* xix, 1 ff., where many derivativs of this root are discuss.

48. On the roots *knə*, *kni*, *knu* with their derivativs cf. *IE.*<sup>2</sup> *α<sup>2</sup>:α<sup>2</sup>i:α<sup>2</sup>u*, 94 ff.

51. *kragan* 'Hals, Kragen' may come rather from 'bend, turn,' and be related to OHG. *krāgo* 'Haken,' ON. *kringr* 'rund; biegsam,' MHG. *krinc*, *-ges* 'Kreis, Ring,' etc. Compare especially MHG. *krage* 'Hals, Nacken, Kragen; Gekröse.' Gk. *βρόγχος* may have *IE.* *b-*, and may come from the primary meaning 'prest together.' In that case compare Goth. *anapraggan* 'bedrängen,' MHG. *phrange* 'Einengung,' Sw. *prang* 'enge Gasse, Schlund,' etc. (cf. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.*<sup>2</sup> 12). For *krage*: *krāgo* see *IF.* xviii, 35.

*kredō*, *krudō* 'kröte' probably goes back to the meaning 'rough, scabby.' Cf. OHG. *krazzōn* 'kratzen,' MHG. *kretze* 'Krätze,' and for meaning Lett. *kraupis* 'Krätze, böser Hautausschlag: Kröte' (cf. *Color-Names*, 6).

*krabban* 'Krebs, Krabbe' may better be referred to *krēb*, *krab* 'sich zusammenziehen, steif werden.' Cp. especially Norw. *krav* 'crust of ice,' *krave* 'crust over with ice' (*MLN.* xxiv, 48).

53. (*kru*) 1. 'krümmen' should rather be defined '(sich) zusammenziehen.' To this belongs *krūdam* 'drängen,' which is given under (*kru*) 3. And these may be referred to (*ker*) 6. 'zsfassen' (or rather '(sich) zsziehen, -drängen'). Compare Norw. dial. *kryda* 'stimle sammen, flokke sig;

vimle; glide langsomt,' 'crowd together; swarm; go along slowly' (almost = 'creep'); *krøyma* 'drage sig sammen, krybe sammen'; *krjuka* 'trække sig sammen, krybe sammen'; *krysja* 'knuse, klemme,' *krøys* 'klynge, dyng'; OE. *crīpan* 'contract, clench,' *crēopan* 'creep,' etc. with Gk. *ἀγείρω* 'bring together,' *γάργα* 'heap,' Skt. *grāma-s* 'Schar, Haufe,' Lith. *gretà* 'dicht zusammen,' Norw. dial. *krade* 'crowd,' OE. *corþor* 'herd,' etc. (cf. *IE.* *α<sup>2</sup>:α<sup>2</sup>i:α<sup>2</sup>u*, 100 ff.).

55. With (*klēt*, *klāt*) 'kleben; zsballen' cp. *klōt* in MDu. *cloet* 'Ruderstange,' ON. *klót* 'Schwertknauf': Lat. *gladius*.

56. For OE. *clīngan* 'contract': MHG. *klīnge* 'Talschlucht,' *klīnge* 'Schwertklinge' see *MLN.* xxi, 227 f. For various IE. bases *glex-*, *gleix-*, *gleux-* see *IF.* xviii, 40 ff., and *IE.* *α<sup>2</sup>:α<sup>2</sup>i:α<sup>2</sup>u*, 96 ff.

58. For *klīpan* 'kleben,' OE. *æt-clīpan* 'adhere': *clāp* 'cloth,' MHG. *kleit* 'kleid' (cf. *IF.* xviii, 44).

60. For *kvepu*, *kvepra* 'Bauch, Mutterschoss': OE. *cwidele* 'swelling, boil,' etc., see *MLN.* xix, 2.

For (*kved*) 'quetschen': Lith. *gendū* 'gehe entzwei, verderbe' see *MLN.* xvii, 9.

64. *haiha* 'einäugig oder blödsichtig' may be referred to *hai* 'schlagen.'

70. With *henþan* 'erjagen, fangen' compare Lett. *censzū-s* 'strenge mich an,' root *gen-* 'hasten, strive after, catch,' Gk. *ἐγκονέω* 'hasten, be active,' *κόνει* *σπεύδει*, *τρέχει*, etc. (cf. *Class. Phil.* v, 303).

88. (*hi*) 2. 'etwa scheinen.' The various meanings given hereunder could not come from 'shine.' I refer these words to Skt. *ḡyātē* 'fällt aus, ab, zerfällt, schwindet.' As in many other cases 'vanisht,' when applied to the sky, means 'serene, clear, bright, etc.'; applied to the color of the skin or color in general, it ment 'pale, sallow, livid, gray, etc.' (cf. *Color-Names*, 99 f.).

89. (*hig*) 'schwer atmen, trachten': OE. *hīgian* 'strive for, be intent on,' NE. *hie*, etc. come better from the meaning in Skt. *ḡghrá-s* 'rasch, schnell' (cf. Kluge and Lutz, *Eng. Et.*, 105). Cp. Germ. *hīb*, *hīp*, *hipp* 'sich schnell bewegen: schnappen, nach Luft schnappen; trachten, streben, etc.': Skt. *ḡbhya-s* 'rasch fahrend' (cf. *Mod. Phil.* v, 265).

<sup>2</sup> Indo-European *α<sup>2</sup>:α<sup>2</sup>i:α<sup>2</sup>u*. A Study in Ablaut and in Wordformation by Francis A. Wood. Strassburg, 1905.

95. *huf*, *hub* 2., *heufan* 'wehklagen' may be derived from pre-Germ. *geup-* 'in heftiger Aufregung sein': Skt. *cōpati* 'bewegt sich, rührt sich,' *kāpyati* 'wird erschüttert, wallt auf,' *kōpa-s* 'Aufwallung, Zorn,' etc.

96. For *hnai* 'wiehern': IE. *kni*, *knēi* 'kratzen, schaben' see *Color-Names*, 108.

97. On *hnakka(n)*, *hnekkān* 'Nacken': Gk. *κνώσσω* 'nod, slumber' cf. *IE.* xviii, 30.

101. *hreh* '(das Gewebe fest) schlagen,' ON. *hræll* 'weaver's rod,' etc., OE. *hrægel* 'Kleid,' etc. I long ago compared with Gk. *κρέκω* 'strike, beat; strike the web, weave; strike a stringed instrument, play,' *κερκίς* 'weaver's comb, radius, plectrum,' *κρόκη* 'woof, weft.' Here also ON. *hrang* 'Lärm,' *hringia* 'läuten,' etc. (cf. *Americana Germ.* iii, 322; *Color-Names*, 115).

105. For *hris*, *hrisjan* 'schütteln': Lat. *crispus*, *crispāre* cf. *IE.* *ax*: *axi*: *axu*, 89.

106. *hrōpan* 'rufen,' OE. *hrōpan* 'shout, howl, scream,' etc., I compare with ON. *hrapa* 'rush, hasten,' *hrapað-ligr* 'hasty, violent,' *-līga* 'noisily, boisterously' (*Color-Names*, 115). So also *hrat* 1. 'taumeln, schwanken, fallen' and (*hrat*) 2. 'rasseln, (toben)' are combined *Wb.*, iii, 101.

*hrōfa* 'Dach' can hardly come from IE. *krāpo* or from the meaning 'Geflecht.' It is rather from the meaning 'spred out loosely, construct loosely': ON. *hrafl* 'loose layer of anything,' *hrófl* 'loose pile,' *hrófla* 'pile up loosely,' *hróf*, *hráf* 'shed' (IE. *ō*:*ē*), *hrófa* 'construct carelessly,' etc. (cf. *Color-Names*, 71; *IE.* *ax* etc., 92). For a different explanation of *hrōta* 'Dach' see *ibid.*

108. *hrud* 2. 'laden, schmücken' in OE. (*ge*)*hroden* 'loaded; adorn'd,' etc. I had earlier compared with Lith. *kráustau* 'lade, packe,' *kráudinū* 'lasse laden oder packen,' *kráuju* 'setze oder lege aufeinander, packe, lade,' etc., Gk. *κόρυς*, acc. *κόρυδα*, *κόρυν* 'helmet,' *κορύσσω* 'equip, arm, rüsten,' *κορυστός* 'heapt up,' etc. (cf. *Color-Names*, 70 f.; *IE.* *ax*, etc., 92; *Mod. Phil.* v, 276 f.).

109. Under *hrus* 2. 'zermalmen' are given ON. *hreysar* f. pl. 'Steinhaufe,' LG. *rüse* 'Haufe,' etc. They should be referred to *hru* 3. 'häufen,' from which come ON. *hraun* 'Steinhaufen,' *hrúga*, *hraukr* 'Haufe,' OE. *hrēac*

'heap, hayrick,' Ir. *cruach* 'Kornhaufe': Lith. *krūvā* 'ein Haufen übereinanderliegender Dinge, etc.' Cf. the preceding.

117. On *hvelma* cf. *MLN.* xxiv, 48 (Feb., 1909).

119. *galika* 'gleich' is explained in the old way: 'dieselbe Gestalt habend.' See on this word *MLN.* xxi (1906), 39 f.

129. To *gerdan* 'gürten' add Av. *zrāðō* 'Kettenpanzer,' NPers. *zirih* 'Panzer' (cf. *Mod. Phil.* vi, 448).

132. With *gelpan* 'tönen, schallen' are doubtfully compared Lith. *gulbė*, Pruss. *gulbis* 'Schwan.' This combination is better made thru the meaning 'bright' in OHG. *gelpf* 'lustig, lebhaft; von hellglänzender Farbe, strahlend,' as given in *Color-Names*, 28, 36.

133. On *ga*, *gi*, *gu* 'gähnen' and their derivativs cf. *IE.* *ax*: *axi*: *axu*, 104 ff. The various meanings appear in Lat. *hiāre* 'open, yawn, gape: be eager, long for; send forth from the open mouth: spew out, bawl out, utter.'

136. The words given under (*gug*) 2. 'etwa laut lachen' are better referred to the meaning 'move rapidly back and forth: look about; flicker,' IE. root *ǵhuqʷ-* in Gk. *παύσσω* 'bewege mich schnell, zucke, blicke wild umher,' *διαφάσσειν* · *διαφαίνειν*, *φάψ* · *φάος* (Hes.), Lat. *fax*, *facula*, *faciēs*, Lith. *žvākė* 'Licht' (cf. Walde, *Et. Wb.*, 202 with lit.). Here belong OHG. *gougorōn*, HMG. *gougern* 'umherschweifen,' *gogel* 'ausgelassen,' *gogeln* 'sich ausgelassen geberden, hin und her flattern,' *gougel*, *goukel* 'nährisches Treiben, Possen, Zauberei,' *gougelære*, OHG. *goukalāri* 'Zauberer, Gaukler,' OE. *gēoglere* 'magician,' *gēaglisc* 'frolicsome, wanton,' MHG. *gugen* 'schwanken,' *gucken*, *güeken* 'neugierig schauen, gucken,' *giege* 'Narr,' *gouch* 'Kuckuck, Narr, Gauch,' etc. (cf. *Color-Names*, 51 f.; *IE.* *ax* etc., 106).

138. On (*gra*, *grē*; *gri*; *gru*) '(zer)reiben' and their derivativs see *Mod. Phil.* i, 235-45, and *IE.* *ax* etc., 109 ff. Here belong *grēwa-*, *grīsa-* 'grau,' primarily 'streaked,' 'gestreift.'

144. With *grīsan* 'schaudern' cp. Skt. *hrīś* 'Scham,' *jīhrēti* 'schämt sich,' base *ghrei-s-*, with which cp. *ǵheres-* in Skt. *hārsatē*, *hr̥syati* 'wird starr, sträubt sich, schaudert, ist erregt,' Lat. *horreo*, etc. (cf. *Mod. Phil.* v, 265).

With *grōan* 'wachsen' cp. Lett. *ja'rūt* 'Äste treiben; Strahlen werfen,' *ja'rs* 'Zweig,' Lith. *žerėti* 'strahlen,' etc. (*Color-Names*, 38; *IE. æ* etc., 107).

145. To *greutan* 'zerreiben' belong MHG. *griezen* 'zermalmen; streuen, schütten,' Norw. dial. *gryta* 'kaste, især stene; slænge om sig store ord, tale høit og dominerende, braute,' 'throw, esp. stones; talk in a high and domineering tone, boast,' OE. *grēotan*, OS. *griotan* 'weinen': Lith. *graudojiu* 'jammere, wehklage,' etc. (cf. *Mod. Phil.* i, 241 f.).

150. On (*ta*), (*ti*) 'teilen, zerteilen, zerstreuen' and their derivativs cf. *IE. æ* etc., 67 ff.

On (*tai*, *tī*) 'wirbeln' cf. *Pub. MLA.*, xiv, 334, and *PBB.* xxiv, 533.

164. The combination *titrōn* 'zittern': Gk. *διδράσκω* 'run' is found in *Pub. MLA.*, xiv (1899), 340.

165. *tūna* 'Zaun' is better referd to *tu* 'ziehen,' on which with its derivativs see *MLN.* xvi (1901), 17 ff.

With (*tu*) 2. 'schädigen' I compare Gk. *δέομαι* 'lack, want,' *δέομαι* 'want, need, ask,' Skt. *dōṣa-s* 'Fehler, Schaden, Mangel,' *dūṣyati* 'verdirbt, wird schlecht,' *duṣ-* 'übel-, miss-,' Gk. *δυσ-*, etc., OE. *týran*, *tēorian* 'fail, fall short; tire,' etc. (*MLN.* xvi, 17).

169. *tregan* 'träge werden' etc. may be compared with Lat. *traho* 'draw, drag, prolong,' from *\*drahō* (*Class. Phil.* v, 307).

170. With (*tras*) 'zerreißen' cp. Skt. *drāḍatē* 'spaltet' (-*d-* from -*zd-*).

174. *twīpōn* 'gewähren' I derive from *dyei-* in Lat. *beo* 'gladden, rejoice, refresh; present with, reward with, enrich,' etc. (*Mod. Phil.* iv, 499).

178. On *pen* 'dehnen' and derivativs cf. *MLN.* xix, 1.

179. Under (*penh*) 1. 'zsziehen, fest sein' are given ON. *þél* (*\*þenhla-*) 'geronnene Milch,' Skt. *takrá-* 'Buttermilch,' for which cf. *IE. æ* etc., 57.

182. *þerf* 'bedürfen' and *þerb* 'erstarren' are fully discust in *MLN.* xx, 102 ff., xxii, 119 ff.

184. *þīnan* 'feucht werden, schmelzen': Gk. *τῆλος* 'thin stool,' ChSl. *tajati* 'sich auflösen, schmelzen, etc., should be credited to me (cp.

*AJP.* xxi, 180 f.). To my combinations Lidén, *IF.* xix, 356 f. (not *BB.* xix, 356) added other words.

185. *þeudō* 'Volk' probably does not belong to (*pu*) 1. 'schwellen, stark, dick sein,' tho this is a combination that I formerly made. But here may belong OHG. *kv-thruathit*, *ca-duadit* 'exagerat' (cf. *AJP.* xx, 269).

*þeudian* 'deuten' in OHG. *diuten* 'verständlich machen, (an)zeigen' from *githiuti* 'aufmerkend, verstehend,' 'Deuten, Hindeuten; Deutung, Ausdeutung,' MHG. *un-gediute* 'unachtsam,' etc., does not come from 'volkstümlich machen.' It should be put under (*pu*) 2. 'Obacht geben': Lat. *tueor* (cp. *Mod. Phil.* v (1907), 280).

186. (*puk*) 1. 'nebeln,' pre-Germ. *tu-g-*, may be referd to *þau* 'tauen.' Cp. IE. *tu-k̑* in Skt. *tōgatē* 'träufelt.'

On (*puk*) 2. 'stossen' in ON. *þoka* 'rücken, schieben,' OE. *þocerian* 'umherlaufen' (and also NE. *thwack*): Skt. *tujāti*, *tuñjāti*, 'stösst, treibt an' (and also *tvāngati* 'springt' (cf. *MLN.* xviii (1903), 16).

*þeutan* 'heulen' in MHG. *diezen* 'tosen, rauschen; schwellen, quellen, zucken,' etc., is ap- provingly referd to *pu* 1, 'schwellen.' This is my long despised explanation (cf. *AJP.* xx, 268 f.; *MLN.* xvi (1901), 307).

188. With *þurēn* 'wagen' cp. Skt. *turāti* *turāyati* 'drängt vorwärts,' *tārati*, *tirāti* 'macht durch,' etc. Similarly from *tere-*, *trī-stjō-* come OS. *thrīsti* 'kühn, dreist.'

190. *þranha* 'faul, ranzig' probably belongs to *þrenhan* 'drängen.' For meaning cp. MLG. *wringen* 'zsdrehen, -pressen,' *wrengen* 'quet-schen, stossen': *wrank* 'sauer, herbe, bitter, strenge,' *wrank* 'Ringen, Groll,' Lat. *rancor* (*Class. Phil.* iii, 83 f.).

191. *þrem* 'springen, hüpfen' may be in Goth. *þramstei* 'Heuschrecke,' but not in OS. *thrim-man*, which means rather 'swell,' primarily 'be compact, prest full.' Cp. MHG. *drinden* 'schwellend dringen, (an)schwellen,' MDu., MLG. *drinten*, OE. *þrintan* 'swell'; ON. *þryngua* 'drängen: anfüllen, anschwellen,' etc. (*Mod. Phil.* v, 288 f.).

*þrē-s*, *þras* 'schnauben, duften' contain the same root as *þrē* 'drehen,' OHG. *drāen* 'dre-

hen, wirbeln.' Cp. Skt. *dhūnōti* 'schüttelt': *dhūmā-s* 'Rauch, Dampf,' OHG. *toum* 'Dampf, Dunst, Duft, Geruch.'

193. *þriðan* 'greifen, refl. um sich greifen, gedeihen' is incorrectly defined. The primary meaning, 'press,' occurs in NWestFries. *triū* (Siebs *Pauls Grdr.* 1309), *triuwe* (Feitsma, *De Vlugge Fries*, 84) 'drücken,' OFries. *\*thrīva*. From 'press' comes 'grasp,' and from 'press (itself) together, be compact' comes 'thrive.' Cp. for meaning Skt. *tanākti* 'zieht zusammen': OHG. *gidīhan* 'gedeihen.' Outside of Germ. a root *treip-* 'press' can be assumed for Lith. *trypiù* 'trete, stampfe' (cp. OE. *þryccan* 'press: trample'), Lett. *trēpju* 'beschmiere,' i. e. 'press, rub' (cf. *MLN.* xviii, 16; *IE.* *ax: aṛi: aṛu* 62; *Mod. Phil.* vi, 443).

(*þru*) 1. in OHG. *drawan*, *drouwen* 'drohen,' etc., is compared with Gk. *τρίω* 'reibe auf, plage,' ChSl. *tryti* 'reiben,' an old combination of mine (cf. *MLN.* xvi (1901), 26; *IE.* *ax* etc. 64).

195. *þrutō* 'Kehle' I should derive from 'narrow passage, Enge': Lat. *trūdo*.

197. *þvinan* in OE. *þwinan* 'dwindle, ein-schwinden,' etc., I compare with Gk. *σίνουαι*, Aeol. *σίνουαι* (*\*tḡinōmai*) 'hurt, damage, waste, plunder,' etc., and with OE. *þwānan* 'moisten, soften,' OHG. *douwen* 'auftauen, zergehen,' Skt. *tōya-m* 'Wasser.' For meaning cp. Skt. *kṣāraṭi* 'fließt, gleitet, schwindet; giesst, strömt aus,' Gk. *φθείρω* 'corrupt, spoil, ruin, kill.' Ir. *tínaim* 'schwinde' I refer to OE. *þinan* 'become moist,' ChSl. *tajati* 'sich auflösen, schmelzen, vergehen' (cf. *AJP.* xxi, 180 f.; *Mod. Phil.* v, 268). Cf. *þinan* above.

For *þvit* in OE. *þwitan* 'cut, shave off,' NFries. *twit* 'schneiden, schnitzen,' ON. *þueita* 'hauen,' etc.: Lith. *tvýčyju* 'schlage, stäupe,' *tvóju* 'prügele,' *tvýskinnu* 'klopfe gewaltig an,' Gk. *σειώ* 'swing, shake,' etc., cf. *IE.* *ax*, etc., 58 f.; *Mod. Phil.* iv, 499 f.

198. With *daila* 'Teil' cp. also OHG. *tīlon*, *tīligōn*, OS. *far-dīligon*, OE. *ā-dīlgian* 'vertilgen' (cf. *MLN.* xxi, 39).

201. On (*dem*) 'stieben, rauchen, dampfen' and its derivativs cf. *Color-Names* 91.

202. On (*der*) 2. (nieder)halten, verbergen' in OS. *derni* 'verborgen,' etc.: Skt. *dhārāyati* 'hält, hält zurück, hemmt, unterdrückt' cf. *IE.*

*ax: aṛi: aṛu* 78 f. To these I add (*der, dar*) 3. 'schaden.'

On (*derb*) 'gerinnen, dick werden' cf. *AJP.* xx, 259.

205. On *dikan* 'ins Werk setzen': Lat. *finco* cf. *Mod. Phil.* iv, 490 f.

206. Under *dis* 'Einsicht' in Goth. *filu-deisei* 'Schlaukeit' should be given Norw. dial. *dīsa* 'stirre (undrende, lurende),' 'stare' (cf. *MLN.* xxiii, 147).

On (*du*) 'schütteln; stieben, etc.' and its possible derivativs see *Color-Names* 88 ff.; *IE.* *ax*, etc., 74 ff.; *MLN.* xx, 41 f., xxii, 118 f.

217. *dvīnan* 'abnehmen, schwinden' is from *\*dhūi-no-* 'shake, scatter, fall off, dwindle,' a derivativ of *dhūi-*, *dhū-jo-*, *dhō-jo-* in ON. *deyja* 'sterben,' *dýja* 'schütteln,' Skt. *dhūyātē* 'wird geschüttelt,' Lat. *suf-fio*, etc., from *dhū-*: Skt. *dhūnōti* 'schüttelt, schüttelt aus, ab, entfernt, beseitigt,' *dhvan-* 'erlöschen, schwinden, dunkeln,' Gk. *θανεῖν* 'die,' etc. (cf. *Color-Names* 103 f.; *IE.* *ax*, etc., 76).

229. On (*femf*) 'schwellen' in OE. *fīfel* 'monster, giant,' ON. *fīfl*, *fimbof*, etc.: Lith. *pamplýs* 'Dickbauch,' *pāmp̃ti* 'aufdunsen,' Lett. *pampt*, *pempt*, *pumpt* 'schwellen,' Gk. *πυμφός* 'bubble, blister,' etc., cf. *MLN.* xxii (1907), 235.

234. With *farva* 'farbig' cp. rather Av. *pouru-ša-* 'scheckig, bunt,' Skt. *paru-ṣā-* 'knotig, uneben, schmutzig, fleckig, bunt,' *paruṣ* 'Knoten, Gelenk, Abschnitt,' *pārvan* 'Knoten,' etc. (cf. *Color-Names* 76).

235. With *fulka* 'Schar, Volk' cp. Skt. *prājya-s* 'reichlich, viel' from *\*plēgio-s*.

237. Under *felhan* 'bergen etc.' is given *fulgēn* 'folgen,' This connection is credited to Wiedemann, *PBB.* 28, 17. My explanation in *AJP.* xix (1898), 45 is exactly the same. I refer the words to a root *pelā-q-* 'approach; bring together.' Cp. esp., with Kluge, Skt. *prnākti* 'setzt in Verbindung, berührt,' OHG. *felhan* 'zsfügen,' OE. *fēolan* 'adhere, apply oneself to, persevere in,' Skt. *upa-prc* 'put oneself close to, be near,' OHG. *folgēn* 'folgen': Gk. *πέλας* 'near,' etc.

252. On (*fli*) 'spalten, sich öffnen, entblösst werden' (or rather 'stretch out, spread out') and its derivativs cf. *IE.* *ax* etc. 49, and (for *flih* and *fliit*) *Mod. Phil.* iv, 491 f.

254. For *fleugan* 'fliegen': Lith. *plauktiù* 'schwimme' cf. *Color-Names* 19.

263. On (*ber*) 4., (*brē, bru*) 'wallen, siedern, brennen' cf. *Color-Names* 23 ff.

269. Under (*bi*) 'spalten' is given *Bild*, OHG. *piladi, bilidi*, etc. I agree with this but compare *Bild* with Ir. *bil, bile*, Welsh *byl* 'Rand,' as in MHG. *brem* 'Rand': Lat. *forma* (cf. *MLN.* xxiv, 47).

270. For a different explanation of the development in meaning in *bīdan* 'warten' see *Mod. Phil.* iv, 489 f. This I define 'hold, bear, endure, sustinere, ertragen; intr. hold, hold on, hinhalten, still halten,' IE. *bheidh-* 'drive, urge, compel, etc.; bear, hold, etc.'

274. With *bautan* 'stossen' cp. Lith. *baudziù* 'strafe' (*MLN.* xv, 237; cf. *PBB.* 35, 164).

284. *blakōn* 'flackern' in ON. *blaka, blakra* 'hin und her schlagen,' etc.: Lat. *flagrum* is the same as *blek, blak, blenk* 'glänzen' (cf. *Color-Names* 22). From this should be separated *blaka* 'schwarz,' which is from pre-Germ. \**mlogo-*: Gk. *ἀμολγός* 'darkness,' *ἀμολγῶ·ζόφω* (Hes.), Ir. *melg* 'death' (cf. *Jour. Germ. Phil.* i (1898), 297; *Color-Names* 73).

285. *blandan* 'mischen,' *blind*, etc., are referred to an IE, *mlendh*. This I have long done, comparing Lett. *ma'ldīt* 'irren, sich versehen,' *mu'l-dēt* 'herum irren' from *mel-* in ON. *milska* 'Mischung,' Lett. *me'lst* 'verwirrt reden,' Ir. *mel-laim* 'betrüge,' Lith. *mīlyju* 'verfehle, irre mich,' *mēlas* 'Lüge,' Gk. *ἀμβλακίσκω* 'fehle, irre,' etc. (cf. *Color-Names* 88, 109). Cp. also Gk. *μελανθές· μέλαν* (Hes.).

(*bles, blas*) 'weiss sein, leuchten' is unnecessarily separated from *blasen*. Cp. esp. OE. *blāes* 'blowing, blast,' *blāest* 'blast, flame, glare.' This is a common enough change in meaning. To *blē* 'blāhen, blasen' also belongs *blē* 'blöcken.' Cp. Gk. *φλέω* 'gush out: babble, chatter.' On this group of words see *Color-Names* 20 ff.

286. *blaita* 'bleich' in OE. *blāt* 'pale, livid,' *blātian* 'be pale,' OHG. *pleiza* 'livor,' related to ChSl. *blědŭ* 'bleich' and also Lith. *blaivas* 'hell, licht, nüchtern' (cf. Brugmann, *Grd.* r<sup>2</sup>, 718). I compare with Gk. *φλυδάω* (*φλίω*) 'overflow, flow out from,' *φλυδαίω* 'cause to swell or ferment, heat, scorch, burn.' From 'flow out' come

'clear up' in *blaivas*, and 'fade, become pale' in the other words (cf. *Color-Names* 21, 98.).

287. *blu* 1. 'schlagen, bläuen' I derive from IE. *mlu, mleu*: Goth. *gamahujan* 'zermalmen, zerstoßen,' etc. (cf. *Jour. Germ. Phil.* i, 295 f.). To this I also added OHG. *blōdi* 'zerbrechlich: gebrechlich, schwach; zaghaft,' etc., comparing ME. *melwe* 'mellow,' Skt. *malvā-s* 'unbesonnen, töricht,' Lith. *maĩvinu* 'mache zahm,' Gk. *ἀμβλῆς* 'blunt, dull; dull, obtuse; dim, faint, weak; spiritless, slack, sluggish,' etc. (cf. *MLN.* xv, 326).

(*blu*) 2. 'weich sein,' however, is better referred to IE. *bhlu-*: Gk. *φλέω* 'gush, overflow,' *φλίω*, *φλύζω* 'overflow,' *φλυδάω*, *φλυδαρός*, etc. (*MLN.* xv, 326 f.).

288. *bleuhan* 'brennen': Gk. *περι-φλέω* 'brenne ringsum' is found in *Color-Names* 21.

303. If (*mak*) 'machen' is compared with ChSl. *mazati* 'schmieren,' then certainly ON., Nicel. *maka* 'smear, grease' should be given here (cf. IE. *ax: axi: axu* 34).

313. To *marzjan* 'hindern' cannot belong MHG. *merren* (wrongly for *merwen*) 'anbinden, anschirren; verbinden, vereinigen (*zuo*); verschwägern,' with which cp. Gk. *μάρπτω* 'greife, fasse, packe,' *βράψαι, βράξει· συλλαβεῖν* (cf. *MLN.* xxi, 41). They are, however, remotely related thru the root *mer* 'press, crush' (*ibid.* 40 f.; *Class. Phil.* iii, 76, 83).

317. For *melpō* 'Angeberei, Verleumdung': Ir. *mellaim* 'betrüge,' Lith. *mēlas* 'Lüge,' etc. (cf. *Color-Names* 88; *Mod. Phil.* v, 281 f.).

324. May not *mūla(n)* 'Maul' be rather related to Skt. *māuli-s* 'Spitze, Gipfel, Kopf,' Gk. *μαυλῆς* 'Messer' (cf. *IF.* xviii, 33)?

327. To (*ja, je*) pron. dem. (rel.) add ON. *at* 'dass,' Germ. \**jat*: Skt. *yād* 'dass, so dass, damit' (cf. *AJP.* xxvii, 63).

330. (*juk*) 2. 'streiten' in Goth. *jūka* 'Streit, Zank,' *jūkan* 'kämpfen' I compared with MHG. *jöuchen, jouchen* 'jagen, treiben,' Av. *yaozaiti* 'bewegt sich, zittert,' Arm. *yuzem* 'rege auf' (cf. *Mod. Phil.* ii (1905), 471; cf. also *AJP.* xix, 55, where OHG. *jucchen* 'jucken' is also given). This comparison is based on Persson, *Wz.* 44, who, however, compares *jūka, jūkan* with Skt. *abhi-yuj-* 'angreifen.' P. 570 the comparison with Av. *yaozaiti*, Arm.

*yuzem* is credited to Holthausen, *KZ.* xxxix, 327. H.'s explanation is in *IF.* xx (1907), 327, together with several other repeated etymologies.<sup>3</sup>

331. On (*rē*) 1, 'meinen' [or rather *rē*, *rēi* 'anordnen'] see *IE.* *ax* : *axi* : *axu* 43 f.

349. With *rukka(n)* 'Rocken' cp. also MDu. *raegh*, Du. *rag* 'Spinnengewebe,' OLG. *raginna* 'Haar,' OE. *ragu* 'lichen' (cf. *MLN.* xxiii, 149).

355. With *leuβα* 'Lied' cp. OSlav. *ljutū*, Gk. *λύσσα*, Arc. *λενρός* 'wild' (*AJP.* xxiii, 200; cf. Uhlenbeck, *PBB.* xxx, 299, and Weigand *II*<sup>5</sup>, 67).

357. *lahan* 'tadeln' is better compared with Lat. *lacero* 'tear, mangle; censure, rail at,' Gk. *λάκος* 'rent,' Cypr. *ἀπέληκα* · *ἀπέρρωγα*, etc. (*MLN.* xiii (1898), 287).

262. *landa* 'Land,' primarily 'Tal' (: Pruss. *lindan* 'Tal') and *landī(n)* 'Lende,' i. e. 'Weiche' may be combined under a root *lendh* in Lith. *lendū* 'krieche,' *lándynė* 'Winkel,' etc. (cf. *MLN.* xviii (1903), 16 f.). Cf. Lewy, *PBB.* xxxii (1906), 136.

364. To *lerta*, *lurta* 'link' add OE. *be-lyrtan* 'deceive.'

365. With *limu* 'Glieder, Zweig' from *li* 'biegen' cp. Lat. *limus* 'schief' (*IE.* *ax* : *axi* : *axu* 38). Cp. Goth. *liþus* : Lat. *lituus* (Walde, *Et. Wb.* 345).

366. (*lik*) 1. is incorrectly defined 'gestalten, (nach)bilden.' From such a meaning how shall we explain Goth. *leikan* 'placere, gefallen,' OHG. *lichōn* 'polire, glätten,' MLG. *lik* 'eben, gerade, gerecht, billig,' Lith. *lygumà* 'eben liegende Stelle, Ebene,' *lygis* 'Platte, Tonsur der Priester,' etc.? Cf. *MLN.* xxi, 39 f.

367. *lihv* means not only 'leihen' but also 'leave, linquere.' Cp. OS. *lēhni* 'vergänglich,' OE. *læne* 'temporary, transitory; frail, infirm; sinful.' These cannot come from 'lent,' which the OE. word also means.

<sup>3</sup> E. g. *IF.* xx, 317, ae. *dēall* : gr. *θάλλω* (Uhlenbeck, *PBB.* xxvi (1901), 317; Wood, *Color-Names* 59); 322 *Kragen* : *Krug* (*IF.* xviii, 35); 324 ae. *tēorian* : gr. *θεομαί*, ai. *dōga-s* etc. (*MLN.* xvi (1901), 17; here also OE. *tiedre*); 326, ae. *þyssa*, aisl. *þausn*, etc. : ai. *távas* (*AJP.* xx, 267 f.); 327, ae. *gētan* : lit. *zudyti* (*MLN.* xv (1900), 96); 329, gr. *πύργη*, *πυγών*, lat. *pugnus* (*IF.* xviii, 29, tho I explain the meaning differently), etc.

368. *libēn* 'leben' probably does not come from 'übrig sein' but from 'bleiben.' It is true that ON. *lífá* means 'übrig sein, leben,' But one meaning is not from the other but both from 'remain, continue.' So NE. *live* 'wohnen, dauern, bleiben; leben.' It is altogether probable, therefore, that *live* comes from 'stick, cling, remain.' Cp. esp. ChSl. *lipěti* 'anhangen, haften.'

*liba* 'Leben' and *liba* 'Leib' are not the same. On the latter see *MLN.* xxiv, 49.

*vaisundi* 'Lufröhre, Speisröhre, [Ader]' should be referred to (*vis*) 2. 'etwa flüssig oder feucht sein' (cf. *Color-Names* 16).

387. With *vēnuma* 'glänzend' cp. Gk. *ἦν-οψ*, Hom. *ῥῆνοψ* 'leuchtend' (*Color-Names* 13).

392. For (*veb*) 3. 'Unsinn reden' : Lith. *vapėti* 'schwätzen, plappern,' etc., cf. *MLN.* xv (1900), 98.

401. *vulpu* 'Herrlichkeit' should not be put under (*vel*) 4. 'sehen' unless this is made identical with *vel* 2. 'winden; drehen.' Cp. Skt. *vālati* 'sich wenden; sich äussern, zeigen,' *valana-m* 'Wendung; Wogen, Wallen; Hervortreten, Sichzeigen' (cf. *Color-Names* 11).

403. For *valþ(i)ō* 'reseda luteola' : Lat. *lutum* cf. *Jour. Germ. Phil.* II, 213 ff.

407. With *vīk* 'weichen' ['bewegen, sich bewegen'] cp. also Lat. *vigeo* 'be lively or vigorous; thrive,' *vigor* 'activity, force,' etc. : Skt. *vēga-s* 'heftige Bewegung, Andrang, Geschwindigkeit, Kraft, Wirkung,' etc. (*AJP.* xxvii, 60).

411. For *vīpla* 'Befleckung' : Lat. *vitium* cf. *MLN.* xvii (1902), 7. Cp. also OS. *in-wid* 'Bosheit, Tücke' (stem *widja* = Lat. *vitio*-), OE. *in-widd* 'deceitful, wicked' (*AJP.* xxvii, 62).

413. With *vīla* 'List, Betrug' cp. Lat. *vīlis*, etc., Lith. *vėlā* 'wire,' root *vei-* 'bend, twist' (*MLN.* xvi (1901), 22 f.).

For *viska* 'Wisch' : Lith. *vizgū* 'zittere' [and *viskiū* 'bebe,' Skt. *vṛṣati* 'ist tätig, wirkt,' *vṛṣkā-s* 'Schlinge zum Erwürgen,' Lat. *viscera*, etc., root *vei-s-* 'twist, whirl'] cf. *MLN.* xvii (1902), 8.

415. *vundra* 'Wunder' certainly belongs to *vend* 'winden, sich wenden.' Cp. OE. *windan* 'wind, twist, turn, move, delay, hesitate,' *gewand* 'being ashamed, hesitation,' *wandian* 'hesitate,



care for, regard, stand in awe of,' and, for meaning, OE. *wāfan* 'waver, hesitate, be amazed, wonder at, gaze in wonder at' (MLN. xv (1900), 98; cf. Skeat s. v. *wonder*).

417. For *vrempan* 'drehen, krümmen': Gk. *ῥέμνω* 'umherdrehen' see IF. xviii, 13 f.

418. *vritan* 'ritzen, einritzen, schreiben' probably comes from pre-Germ. *ureid-* 'move to and fro, turn, rub, etc.' Cp. early LRh. *wrīten* 'drehen, verdrehen,' Du. *wrijten* 'zanken,' and, for meaning, MHG. *riben* 'reibend wenden oder drehen, reiben, schminken,' MLG. *wriwen* reiben, wischen, scheuern, schleifen, zerreiben' (cf. Mod. Phil. iv, 494).

To *vrīpan* 'drehen, winden, binden' add 'reiben, beschmieren': ON. *riða* 'drehen, winden, binden; bestreichen, beschmieren,' N. Icel. 'knit, twist; rub, smear.' These two sets of meanings I at one time referred to different roots (cf. Mod. Phil. iv, 495), but now see from Sylt *wriþ* 'reiben' (Siebs, *Sylter Lustsp.* 221) that they go back to the same root *ureit-* 'twist, wind, turn, move back and forth, rub, etc.'

422. For *saigula* 'Hiebwaaffe, Stock,' [OHG. *sigan* 'sich vorwärts bewegen, sich senken,' *seigen* 'senken; schleudern werfen,' etc.]: Lat. *sica* 'dagger,' Lith. *sỹkis* 'Hieb,' [Skt. *sāyaka* 'Wurfgeschoss, Pfeil'] cf. MLN. xviii (1903), 14.

428. For a different explanation of Goth. *sidus* 'Sitte' see MLN. xviii, 13.

434. For *semōn* 'schmausen': Gk. *ψωμός* 'Bissen,' etc. cf. IF. xiii, 120.

435. *serdan* is incorrectly defined 'coire cum femina.' Cp. MHG. *serten* 'stuprare; quälen, plagen, belästigen; schlagen, hauen; locken, verführen, täuschen, betrügen,' *zer-serten* 'zerhauen, -schneiden, -schlagen verderben; intr. Scharthen bekommen, verderben,' etc., pre-Germ. *\*ser-to-* 'attack, assault; beat, strike; annoy, worry; violate, etc.': Skt. *śisarti*, *śarati* 'rennt, eilt, fließt,' *abhi-sar-* 'herbeieilen, hinzutreten, losgehen auf, jem. einen Liebesbesuch machen,' Gk. *ῥπή* 'assault, attack; eagerness, violence, passion or appetite,' etc. (cf. Mod. Phil. v, 283 f.).

450. For *skanka* 'schief' [ON. *skekkia* 'schief machen']: *schenken* see IF. xviii, 27<sup>1</sup>; Mod. Phil. v (1907), 284.

453. *sker* 1. 'scheren, schneiden' [eig. 'sprengen'?] is perhaps identical with (*sker*) 2. 'hüpfen, springen' (cf. *Color-Names* 40 f.; IE. *ax: avi: avu* 135 f.). From 'spring' also come 'spring back, shrink: become small, thin, sharp' (whence also might come words for 'scrape, cut') and 'be sprung, bend, slant.'

457. With (*skerz*) 2. 'eig. springen' in ON. *skjarr* 'scheu, furchtsam,' *skirra* 'scheuchen,' N. Icel. 'prevent, avert; refl. shrink from, shun' cp. Lith. *skėrsas* 'quer, schielend,' Gk. *ἐπικάρσιο* 'schief, schräg,' *κάρσιον* · *πλάγιον* (cf. *Color-Names* 40). These undoubtedly come from *sqr* 'spring,' whence 'spring back, shrink, shun' and 'spring aside, bend, slant.' Cp. the following: OS. *scurgan* 'avertere, wegstoßen,' MHG. *schraege* 'schräg,' OE. *seringan* 'shrink'; MHG. *schrecken* 'springen; erschrecken,' OE. *serincan* 'shrink,' OHG. *skrenken* 'schräg stellen; seitwärts abweichen'; ON. *skræmi-hlaup* 'attack to inspire fear,' Sw. *skrämna* 'erschrecken,' MHG. *schrämen* 'biegen, krümmen, schräge machen,' OE. *serimman* 'be bent'; ON. *skrefa* 'go or spring with long strides,' *skræfask* 'shrink back with cowardice.'

458. (*skel*) 1. 'spalten, trennen,' *skel* 2. 'schallen,' (*skel*) 3. 'dürre werden,' (*skel*) 5. 'schief, schräg sein,' (*skel*) 6. 'springen' may possibly all come from IE. *sqel-* 'spring,' whence 'burst, spalten'; 'burst, crash, schallen'; 'be sprung, schief sein'; 'spring back, shrink, shrivel, dürr werden' (cf. *Color-Names* 39 f.). Perhaps here also *skel* 4. 'schulden' (= 'kurz kommen, mangeln'?).

460. *skalka* 'Knecht' in Goth. *skalks* 'Diener.' MHG. *schalc* 'Knecht; ungetreuer, arg-, hinterlistiger Mensch' belongs better under (*skel*) 5. 'schief sein.' Cp. MDu. *scale* 'arglistig, gemein,' Dan. *skulke* 'sich hinweschleichen,' NE. *skulk*, etc. To (*skel*) 5. add also Lith. *skelpiu* 'wölbe,' *skėlpas* 'Leichengewölbe,' OHG. *scelp* 'Wölbung,' ON. *skiplf* 'Hochsitz,' OE. *scylf* 'peak, crag; pinnacle, turret': *skelban* 'schwanken, zittern' (*ibid.*).

462. *skīr(i)a* 'hell, klar, rein' should be given under (*ski*) 2. 'scheiden.' Cp. OE. *scīr* 'district, shire,' *scīran* 'distinguish, decide; get rid of': *scīr* 'clear, bright' and Lith. *skėdžu* 'scheide,' *at-skaida* 'Abteilung': *skaidrus* 'hell,

klar' (cf. *Color-Names* 66). Here also belong OHG. *skēri* 'sagax, acer ad investigandum': Gk. κίραφος·ἀλώπηξ i. e. 'der Gescheite' (*Class. Phil.* III, 76). Other words given under (*ski*) 3. 'schief sein' might better be here.

466. With *skauna* 'Schirm' cp. MHG. *schönen* (*IE. ax:axi:axu* 134).

469. (*skup, skuf, skub*) 2. 'sich biegen, wölben' should be stricken out. OHG. *scqf, scopf* 'Scheune,' etc., belong under (*sku*) 2. 'bedecken': *skufta* 'Haupthaar,' *skauba* 'Büschel, Bündel' to *skuf, skub* 3. 'schieben' (cp. esp. OS. *skubati* 'vellere,' Pol. *skubać* 'zupfen, pflücken, raufen'); MHG. *schopfen* 'stopfen; geschwollen sein' to *schieben*. Cp. ON. *þryngua* 'drängen, pressen; anfüllen, anschwellen.'

471. On *skrē* 2. '(hüpfen) spritzen, stieben'; *sker* 2. 'hüpfen, springen' cf. *Color-Names* 40, 56.

473. (*skrenk*) 1. 'schräg, kreuzweise stellen' in OHG. *skrenken* 'in verschrenkte Stellung bringen, schräg stellen; intr. seitwärts abweichen,' *scranchōn* 'in verschränkter Stellung sein, schwanken, wanken,' etc., is the same as *skrenk* 2. 'sich zsziehen' in OSw. *skrunkin* 'schrumpfig,' Norw. dial. *skrøkka* 'einschrumpfen,' OE. *scrincan* 'shrink; wither,' NE. *shrink* 'zusammen-, zurückfahren, sich zsziehen' (cp. OHG. *skrenken* 'seitwärts abweichen'), early Swab. *verschrunchen* 'zsgeschrumpft,' etc. (cf. *Color-Names* 44).

474. (*skri*) 1. properly means 'scratch, scrape,' and may well be refered to *sker* 'cut.' Cp. Antw. *af-schrijnen* 'de huid lichtjes afschaven, afwrijven' (Cornelissen en Vervliet, *Idioticon van et Antwerpsch Dialect* 1537).

*skri* 2. 'schreien' is probably from IE. *sqrei, sqerei*- 'leap, spring': Lith. *skrėti* 'sich schnell im Bogen oder Kreise bewegen,' Lett. *skrēt* 'laufen, fliegen,' etc. Cp. Gk. σκαίρω 'hop,' OHG. *scerōn* 'mutwillig sein, jauchzen,' *scern* 'Scherz, Spott,' Bay. *gescher* 'Geschrei, Lärm' (*Color-Names* 113).

475. (*skrut*) 'schnarchen, brüllen' probably meant primarily 'make a harsh sound, crash.' Cp. Norw. dial. *skrota* 'indsnit, skure,' 'Einschnitt,' *skrutlen* 'fliset, ujævn; skråbelig,' Lith. *skraudus* 'rauh, brüchig.' This comes from a root *sqreu-* 'cut, break,' whence 'be rough, make a harsh sound, scrape, grate, crash, etc.':

MDu. pret. pl. *scrouwen* 'schreien,' OHG. *scrouwezen* 'gannire, garrire, ON. *skruma* 'schreien, prahlen,' *skraume* 'Prahler'; *skruðningr* 'Lärm, Rumpeln'; *skriúpr* 'zerbrechlich, spröde': 'Kraichen,' Norw. dial. *skropa* 'schaben, kratzen,' *skrøypa* 'skryde,' 'prahlen,' etc. (cf. *Color-Names* 114).

476. For *skrübō* 'Schraube': Lith. *skverbiù* 'steche bohrend' cf. *PBB.* xxiv, 532. However, I should now separate these words, comparing *Schraube* with Lat. *scrūpus* 'rough, sharp stone,' ON. *skrof* 'broken ice,' Sw. *skroftig* 'rauh, uneben,' *skrubba* 'scheuern,' MLG. *schrubben* 'reiben, kratzen,' etc. (cf. as above); but referring Lith. *skverbiù* to MLG. *schüren* 'scheuern, reiben,' Gk. σκῦρος 'Abfall beim Behauen der Steine,' etc. (cf. *IE. ax:axi:axu* 136).

479. (*stek*) 1. 'bedecken' is also in EFries. *steken* 'stecken, verbergen,' MHG. *stecken* 'festsitzen, festhaften; festheften, befestigen,' etc., base *stheg-* 'stand, cause to stand, check, hold, stop, close, cover, etc.': Skt. *sthāgati, sthagayati* 'hemmt, verschliesst, verbirgt, verhüllt,' Gk. στρέω 'keep off, hold off; hold in check (tears), hold in, contain, cover over, shelter, protect.' This is certainly more than 'tegere,' and may be identified with (*stek*) 2. 'stehen, ragen, steif sein' in EFries. *staken* 'stehend oder stillstehend machen, zum Stehen oder Halten bringen, Einhalt tun, hemmen, festsetzen,' etc. (cf. *MLN.* xx, 44; *IE. ax:axi:axu* 130; *Mod. Phil.* v, 285).

490. *stijōn* 'Pferch, kleiner Stall' together with Lith. *stūinė* 'Pferdestall' is better derived from *sti* 'stehen' (cf. *IE. ax* etc. 129).

500. *strēla, strēlō* 'Strahl' and OS. *strēla* 'Pfeil' may be refered to OS. *strēti* 'ausbreiten,' MHG. *strājen* 'spritzen, stieben': Skt. *starati* 'streut,' etc. (cf. *IE. ax* etc. 132).

With *strikan* 'streichen' cp. also Lat. *strigāre* 'be worn out, loose strength, cease,' *strigōsus* 'lean, lank, thin,' *strix* 'furrow, groove, flute,' Gk. στρίξ 'row,' etc.

502. *streuna* 'Schatz, Gewinn' in OE. *strēon* 'Schatz, Reichtum, Gewinn, Wucher; Erzeugung,' OHG. *kistriuni* 'Gewinn, lucrum,' etc., whence OE. *strienan* 'erwerben; erzeugen,' OHG. *gistriunan* 'lucrari,' MHG. *striunen*

'schnoppernd umherstreifen,' Bav. *streunen* 'nach guten Bissen, kleinen Vorteilen umhersuchen' should be referred to (*stru*) 2. 'streichen, streifen,' Cp. Lith. *strovà* 'Speise, Kost,' *strovýju* 'verzehre, esse,' Gk. *στερέω* 'rob, deprive,' OE. *strūdan* 'plunder, ravage, destroy,' *strȳdan* 'rob, deprive,' *bestriēpan* 'strip, rob, plunder,' etc. (cf. *Color-Names* 81; *IE. ax : ari : aru* 132; *Mod. Phil.* v, 279). For meaning cp. Skt. *lōtra-m.* 'Beute, geraubtes Gut,' Lat. *lucrum*, etc.

505 (*spē*) 2. is inadequately defined. For the IE. base *spē* see *IE. ax* etc. 125. Thus *spēdia* 'spät' = 'stretcht out, long : late,' and is closely related to Lat. *spatium*; *spōdi* 'Eile, Gelingen' = 'a stretching out : hastening': Skt. *sphātī-s* 'das Feistwerden, Mastung.'

512. (*spi*) 1. spitz sein.' With *spinulō* 'Stecknadel' cp. also Lith. *spyna* 'Vorlegeschloss': Gk. *σφῆν* 'Keil,' OHG. *spān*, Skt. *sphyā-s* 'Holzspan'; with *spīlō(n)* 'Speiler' also Lett. *spīlēt* 'klemmen, zwicken, spannen'; with *spīta*, *spītō* 'Spiess' cp. ON. *spīta* 'stecken,' Lett. *spāidīt* 'drücken, drängen' (cf. *IE. ax : ari : aru* 126 f.).

519. (*snak*, *snēk*) 'schnauben, schnüffeln; schwatzen,' etc., are referred to an IE. root *snē*. For a different explanation see *IE. ax* etc. 120 f.

530. For *smītan* 'schmieren, schmeissen': Lett. *smāidīt* 'schmeicheln' see *AJP.* xx, 262; *Mod. Phil.* iv, 496 f. But I also compare Lett. *smāida* 'Lächeln,' Gk. *μεῖδω* 'smile,' etc., root *smēi-d-* 'drücken, reiben, streichen, schmieren, sich drücken, schleichen, etc.' The intransitiv meaning appears in Sw. *smīta* 'sich drücken, sich davon machen, schleichen,' Skt. *smaya-s* 'Stauen, Verwunderung; Hochmut, Stolz,' i. e. 'a drawing back,' expressing 'astonishment, wonder, shyness' and 'aloofness, haughtiness,' *smāyatē* 'lächelt, lächelt verschämt errötet,' etc.

531. For (*\*smu*) 1. ('in feine Teilchen auflösen') and its derivatives see *Color-Names* 95.

532 ff. For the various Germ. bases *slex*, *slūx*, *slūx*, see *AJP.* xxiv, 40-61.

533. With *slek*, *slak* 'schlaff sein' cp. also Lith. *slogus* 'beschwerlich,' *slogà* 'Plage,' *slėgriu* 'bedrücke, presse,' Lett. *slėdzu* 'schliesse' (*AJP.* xxiv, 42; *Mod. Phil.* vi, 450).

535. Under *slad* 'gleiten' it is said: "German. *slad* verhält sich zu *glad*, wie *slent* zu *glent*,

*slent* zu *glend*, *slid* zu *glid*." Quite true! But there is no reason for supposing that they are otherwise related than as rime-words. On this point see *IF.* xxii, 133-171.

538. For *slītan* 'reißen, schleissen': Lith. *skleidžiū* 'breite aus' cf. *IF.* xxii, 165. However, *slītan* is better derived from pre-Germ. *slei-d-* 'abstreifen, schleifen.'

539. For *slīban* 'spalten': Lith. *sklėpas* 'Lappen, Stückchen,' *sklėpūti* 'zerstücken' cf. *IF.* xxii, 165. Here also we may better refer to a root *slei-p-* 'schleifen, abstreifen,' with which cp. *slei-b-*: Lat. *lībāre* 'berühren, ein wenig wegnehmen, verletzen,' *dē-lībāre* 'abstreichen, abbrechen,' OHG. *slīfan* 'gleiten; schleifen,' etc.

541. For (*sluk*) 3. 'schleichen': Lith. *slauziū* 'krieche' cf. *AJP.* xxiv, 48.

*slūtan* 'schliessen' may better be derived from pre-Germ. *slūd* 'zufallen lassen, zudrücken': ON. *slūta* 'hang down,' Norw. dial. *slūta* 'hang down, bend over,' ChSl. *sludy* 'Abhang,' Lith. *slaudziū* 'drücke, dränge, belästige' (cf. *AJP.* xxiv, 49 f.). For meaning cp. Lith. *slėgiū* 'bedrücke, presse': Lett. *slėdzu* 'schliesse.'

For (*slut*) 2. 'schlaff herabhängen, schlaff, weich sein': MHG. *slōz*, *slōze* 'Schlossen,' NE. *sleet*, etc., cf. *AJP.* xxiv, 49.

544. With *svē*, *svējan* 'sich schwingend bewegen' cp. Skt. *svātī*, *svatī* 'treibt an.' Under this are given *svapa* '(das Schwingen) Anstreifen, Gleiten,' to which are referred OE. *sweþel* 'Windel,' OHG. *swedil* 'Umschlag,' etc. Cp. Lith. *saucžiū* 'umgebe, umhülle,' *sautimas* 'das Umgeben' (*Color-Names* 31 f.).

546. For OE. *swegl* 'Himmel, Sonne,' *swegle* 'hell, strahlend,' etc.: Goth. *swyil* 'Sonne' see *MLN.* xvi (1901), 306.

For *svenkan* 'schwingen, biegen': Skt. *svājatē* 'umschlingt, umarmt' [to which add *svājā-s* 'eine Art Schlange'] cf. *MLN.* xvi (1901), 24.

547. With *svendan* 'schwinden' cp. OE. *sweþrain* 'cease, subside,' *swodrain* 'be drowsy, sleep heavily,' Ir. *suthun* 'dunce,' Lith. *siaucžiū* 'tobe, wüte,' *siuntū* 'werde toll,' base *seyet-* 'swing, sway, fall away, subside' (cf. *Color-Names* 96; *IE. ax : ari : aru* 118).

548. (*\*svap*, *\*svab*) 'kehren, fegen' are hardly related to Gk. *σβεῖω* 'scheuche, entferne schnell,' etc. The Gk. words may be referred to a

root \**tuēg*⁎-: Skt. *tuṅāti*, *tuṅjāti* 'drängt, stösst, treibt an'; Med. in schnelle Bewegung kommen,' *tvāṅgati* 'springt,' ON. *þoka* 'bewegen; Platz machen, weichen,' etc. (*Class. Phil.* III, 78). For *svap* see *IE. æ* etc. 118.

*sveb* 'schlafen' in OE. *swefan* 'cease, sleep, be ded,' etc., is from an IE. root *syep*- 'swing, sway, give way, subside': ChSl. *svepiti* 'agitare,' NSl. *svepati* 'wanken,' Lith. *supù* 'wiege, schaukele.' This is a change in meaning so common that it is strange that so many overlook it. For this and other examples see *Color-Names* 33 ff.; *IE. æ*: *axi*: *axu* 116 ff.

550. *svarta* 'schwarz,' Lat. *surdus* 'indistinct, stupid, dull,' *sordes* 'mud' come from 'stir up, trüben.' Cp. Lith. *sverdu* 'schwänke, taumele,' root *syer*- in *svirus* 'schwebend,' schwankend, baumelnd,' *sverù* 'wäge,' etc., whence Germ. *swerkan* 'sich verfinstern' (*Color-Names* 90 f.).

551. As *svel* 'schwelten' comes from 'smolder, waste away,' it can hardly be compared with Gk. *σέλας* 'Glanz,' etc. (cf. *Color-Names* 95 f.). Moreover it is doubtful whether IE. *sy*- ever gives Gk. *σ*-. The examples adduced can always be explained in some other way. E. g. Gk. *σέλας* 'light' and *σάλος* 'swell, surge, rolling, disquiet' may both be referred to a root *tye-l*- 'swell, roll, be agitated': ON. *þylr* 'noise,' *þulr* 'orator,' OE. *ge-þyll* 'breeze,' *þyle* 'orator, buffoon, jester,' Gk. *σαλάκων* 'swaggerer, boaster': Skt. *tūya-s* 'stark, geschwind,' *tāviṣṭi* 'Kraft, Ungestüm,' ON. *þysia* 'rush forth,' *þausm* 'tumult,' OHG. *dosōn* 'brausen, tosen,' Lith. *tvoskinu* 'schlage stark,' *tvaskù* 'schwatze; glänze, leuchte,' etc. From the same ultimate root, and showing the same development in meaning are Gk. *σείω* 'swing, shake,' Skt. *tvigāti* 'ist in heftiger Bewegung, ist erregt, funkelt, glänzt,' *tvēṣā-s* 'heftig, ungestüm; funkelnd, glänzend,' etc. (cf. *Color-Names* 51).

555. For *svitula* 'hell': Lat. *sūdus* 'dry, clear' (which, however, I refer to *syed*:- *sūd*-) cp. *Color-Names* 100.

*svib* 1. 'drehend bewegen' and *svib* 2. 'ablassen' are identical, as are also *svig* 1. 'sich beugen, nachgeben' and *svig* 2. 'schweigen.'

556. *svō* 'stillen, versöhnen' rests on too uncertain ground. ON. *sōa* 'feierlich töten' may come from \**swōhan* and be compared with OE. *ā-swōgan* 'suffocate,' *geswōgen* in a swoon, ded,

silenced,' pre-Germ. \**smōq*-. This is the Dehnstufe of the root *syeq*:- Lith. *sukù* 'drehe,' *sunkùs* 'schwer,' Lett. *sukt.* 'schwinden' (cf. *Color-Names* 33; *MLN.* XVIII, 16; *IE. æ*: *axi*: *axu* 117). Cp. NSl. *svepati* 'wanken': ON. *sofa* 'schlafen,' *sukēfa* 'einschläfern, beruhigen,' *sēfa* 'feierlich töten,' Skt. *svāpāyati* 'schläfert ein, tötet.'

559. (24) With *ēdra*, *adra* 'schnell' in ON. *āðr* 'früher; vormals,' OE. *ædre* 'at once,' OS. *adro* 'eilend, alsbald, früh,' OHG. *atar* 'acer, celer, sagax' cp. OHG. *ata-haft* 'fortwährend,' Skt. *ātati* 'wandert, läuft,' *ātya-s* 'eilend' (*Pub. MLA.* XIV (1899), 316; *Color-Names* 57). Comparison with *ātati* is credited to Fick. When and where?

566. (197) *þvaspian* 'auslöschen, vertilgen': Lat. *tesqua*, Skt. *tuccha*, *tucchyā* 'öde, nichtig,' ChSl. *tūžiti* 'leer,' credited to Petersson, *IF.* XX (1907), 367, was given by me years before *AJP.* XX (1899), 267; *Color-Names* 105. But I see no necessity of referring both to *tyesq*⁎-, since a simpler root exists: Av. *tusen* 'sie entleeren sich,' Bal. *tusag* 'ausgehen, erlöschen, verlassen werden, vermieden werden,' *tōsag* 'auslöschen,' etc. Here also may belong Russ. *túsklyj* 'finster,' OE. *geþuxod* 'dark,' *þēostre* 'dark, gloomy,' etc. (*ibid.*; cf. Uhlenbeck, *PBB.* XXXII, 536).

567. (203) *Derb* 2., *derban* 'arbeiten': Lith. *dirbtì* 'arbeiten,' *dárbas* 'Arbeit' is my comparison: *AJP.* XX (1899), 258; *IE. æ*: *axi*: *axu* 78.

570. (321) *maidian*: and. *mēdian* 'bestechen' = OS. *mēdian* 'bezahlen,' denom. to *mēda*, OHG. *miata* 'Miete,' and has nothing to do with *maidian* 'schädigen.'

571. (349) *ruk* 2: ags. *rēoc* 'wild' (Holt-hausen *IF.* XX, 328). Another repeated etymology. But the primary meaning is not 'brüllen,' but 'break forth, burst forth,' whence 'belch, bellow; emit, exhale, smoke, etc.' Cf. *Pub. MLA.* XIV (1899), 308 f.

(363). *leba*, *lōbia*. For OS., OE. *lēf* 'schwach': Lith. *lāibas* 'schlank' cf. *IE. æ*: *axi*: *axu* 40.

(364). *lēva*: and. *lēvian* 'überlassen' does not belong here but to *laiḃō* (369).

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